

Secret

फाईल संख्या

File No.

खंड

Volume

820/11/P/10/91-Pof

*Rack Q*

भारत सरकार  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA  
प्रधान मंत्री कार्यालय  
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

Political  
SECTION/DIVISION

दिप्तिविभाग/पत्राचार

NOTES/CORRESPONDENCE

विषय  
SUBJECT

.....को सूचीकृत की गई  
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Initials

अभिलेख क/स  
Record A/B

अभिलेख ग.....में नष्ट की जाए  
Record C Destroy in

अनुभागीय नोट बुक में नोट किया जाए  
नोट न किया जाए

To be noted  
Not to be noted in Sectional Note Book

अनु. अ०/अधीक्षक के आद्याक्षर  
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लिपिक के आद्याक्षर  
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870/6/14/89  
870/19/90/91  
W.H.P.B



keep  
29/12/15



The President has forwarded a letter from Prof. Samar Guha, MP, requesting high level investigations into the secret documents on the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, believed to be available in the USSR, UK and Japan.

Prof. Guha had written to the former PM on the same subject and we had sought the comments of the Ministry of External Affairs. They informed us that the communications from Prof. Samar Guha, including the letter written by him to President Gorbachev in November 1988, was referred to our Embassy in Moscow, who had taken this up with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as well as with the South Asia Directorate of the Soviet Foreign Office. The Soviets had confirmed that communications sent earlier by Prof. Guha had been received by the Soviet Govt. and they were making enquiries in the matter. They have yet to get back to us.

The Govt. of India had appointed an Enquiry Committee in 1956, headed by the late Shah Nawaz Khan, and including Netaji's elder brother, S.C. Bose, to go into the circumstances of Netaji's death. The Committee submitted a report in which the majority opinion was that Netaji met his death in an air crash on 18.8.45 in Taihoku (Formosa) and that his ashes were subsequently brought to the Renkoji temple in Tokyo. Netaji's brother, S.C. Bose, however, dissented from this view.

In 1970, another enquiry was conducted by a one man committee of Justice G.D. Khosla which also concluded that the casket lodged in the Renkoji Temple contained the ashes of Netaji. The Cabinet accepted the findings and the report of the Committee was laid on the Table of both Houses of Parliament on 3rd September, 1974.

In August 1977, Prof. Samar Guha moved a motion in the Lok Sabha urging the Government to set up a 3 man commission for conducting a fresh enquiry into Netaji's disappearance. The discussions were inconclusive.

In 1982, S.C. Bose, Netaji's brother, again wrote to the then Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi saying that there was no convincing proof that the so called ashes of Netaji were genuine.

In 1984, Shri Nand Lal Sharma claiming to be an associate of Netaji, filed a petition in the Rajasthan High Court for a judicial enquiry at an international level on the whereabouts of Netaji. Justice Bhargava on 18.1.86 ordered the Govt. of India to examine the case afresh. Before any action could be taken, the petitioner passed away.

....2/-

PM'S Personal Section  
DY. NO 2004-Q  
DATE 18-1-91

PRL. SECY, TO P.M.  
Dy. No...122-V/91  
Date.....12/1/91

(2)

In view of this, GOI has not treated the findings of these two enquiry committees as conclusive and has not brought back Netaji's ashes to India. The ashes have been lying in the Renkoji Temple in Japan since 1945. The Government of India provides an annual grant for maintenance of the Temple in which the ashes are kept.

Recently, Shri L. Joychandra Singh and Shri Sheel Bhadra Yaji, who had been associated with Netaji, have been mounting a campaign to bring back the ashes of Netaji from Japan and construct a suitable national memorial for Netaji in India. Shri Singh says that he has been in touch with various organisations associated with Netaji, including the Netaji Academy in Tokyo. Shri Singh has observed that that S.C. Bose, Netaji's brother, who had so far objected to the return of the ashes is no more. His son Arvind Bose has entrusted responsibility for this issue to his cousin, Dr. Siser Bose, who has supported the return of Netaji's ashes to India and the creation of a National Memorial in his honour in Delhi.

In view of the fact that national opinion continues to be divided on the issue of Netaji's disappearance and no consensus has emerged, the former PM had directed that the matter may be brought before the CCPA.

The Ministry of Home Affairs have prepared a draft note which is scheduled to come up for consideration by the CCPA shortly.

D.F. A.

A draft reply from PM to the President is placed below. \*

*Meera Shankar*

(Meera Shankar)

Director

17.1.91

~~JS(R)~~

*Umesh*

*M. M.*

PRL SECY TO PM

PM

316/JS(R)91  
345/DIREM/91

(3)

SNDY

The former Speaker of the Lok Sabha, Shri Rabi Ray, has forwarded a letter from Prof. Samar Guha proposing the setting up of an Expert Committee for high level investigations into the secret documents believed to be available in the USSR, UK, Japan and the USA on the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

The President had earlier forwarded a letter from Prof. Guha on the same issue to the Prime Minister. PM had acknowledged the letter saying that the issue would be looked into.

The issue has since been considered by the CCPA recently, and a decision taken that no useful purpose would be served by holding yet another inquiry or by bringing back Netaji's ashes to India, at present, as this might create unnecessary tensions. In view of this, the letter may be filed.

*Meera Shankar*  
(Meera Shankar)  
Director .  
22.3.91 .

DIR. (P)'S OFFICE  
DY. No 3659.  
DATE 26/3

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2023/D/REM/91  
26/3

2734/SCR/91

2069/JSS  
25/3

JS (X)  
JS (T)

UH 25/3

25/3

Dir (MS) Meera Shankar

lrcu 26/3/91 Dir (P) 25/3  
SD (RDL) 11

SND. 9-13/c

(U)

Shri Dinesh Goswami, MP has forwarded a letter from Prof. Samar Guha requesting for high level investigations into the secret documents on the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, believed to be available in the USSR, UK and Japan. The President had earlier forwarded a letter from Prof. Samar Guha on the same issue to the Prime Minister. PM had acknowledged the letter saying that the request would be looked into.

The issue has since been considered by the CCPA, recently, and a decision taken that no useful purpose would be served by holding yet another inquiry or by bringing back Netaji's ashes to India, at present, as this might create unnecessary tensions.

In view of this, PM could either send a substantive reply to Prof. Samar Guha, informing him of the Government's decision as at Draft I. This is, however, likely to fuel a political controversy.

**OR**

PM could merely acknowledge the letter from Shri Dinesh Goswami, without giving a substantive reply as at Draft II.

I would recommend the latter.

Only DFA II could go for PM's  
signature, without the file.

*Meera Shankar*

(Meera Shankar)  
Director  
15.4.91

*M.16/4*

~~JS(R) / JS(N)~~

*L. S. 18/4/91*

PRL SECY TO PM

DFA II may be up with  
you.

*C. S. T.*

*17/4/91  
Signature  
to  
you,*

RL. SECY. TO P.M.  
P. No. 2935-6/91  
Date 18/4/91

PM'S Personal Section  
DY. NO 5316 G  
DATE 18-4-91

2563/PS(R)/91  
30/4/91 18PM

3267/PS(R)/91  
6/4  
2257/PS(R)/91

SND. 9-13/c

Correspondence

PROF. SAMAR GUHA  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



8/2 CENTRAL PARK  
CALCUTTA 700032

January 7/1990

Shri Chandrasekhar  
Prime Minister of India  
New Delhi

Dear Prime Minister,

In response to a memorandum given to the President of India, Shri R. Venkataraman, regarding our national responsibility to resolve the continuing mystery about 'disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose', the former Prime Minister of India, Shri V.P. Singh informed me in letter on June 7, 1990 :

'...Regarding high level investigation into secret documents on disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose believed to be available in USSR, UK, Japan and the USA. I have asked the Minister of External Affairs to look into this...' (Encl. 1)

But because of the recent political changes no initiative could be taken by the N.F. Government to institute a high level Investigative Inquiry into the matter.

It is perhaps known to you that on behalf of the Janata Govt. Shri Morarji Desai rejected the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission as 'inconclusive'. He made a statement in this regard on the floor of Lok Sabha on Sept 3, 1978. Believing that any further public inquiry about 'disappearance of Netaji' was not likely to be effective, Shri Morarji Desai suggested an investigative Inquiry by experts to find out the truth, about the fate of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. But, because of the fall of Morarji Government, no initiative could be taken in this regard.

LY. No. 615 However, the N.F. Government of Shri V.P. Singh agreed to such a move.  
DATE But it could also not be initiated.

There are unmistakable indications from various available reports and documents that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose did escape into Russia under the camouflage of a make-believe story of his death in an air crash at Taipai in former Formosa in August 1945.

Three inquiries were immediately initiated after the story of Subhas Chandra Bose's alleged death in a plane accident was broadcast by Tokyo

PRL. SECY. TO P.M.  
Dy. No. 125/V/91  
Date..... 14/1/91

V.S. (P)  
418/10/91

15/1/91  
PM  
He has brought before the  
CPA; we may take  
suitable  
action  
15/1/91  
P.M.

Radio on August 23, 1945. The report of first inquiry by Genl. Mac Arthur of U.S. Army was never published. The second report of inquiry by Admiral Mountbatten of the S.E. Asian Allied Army also remained secret. The third report of inquiry by the Wavell Government of British India was partly made available to Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission.

It is believed that the archieves of the Governments of USSR, UK, Japan and the USA possess many secret reports about what really happened to Subhas Chandra Bose of India after the fall of Japan. Chinese Government also are known to have many such reports about Netaji. Regrettably, the Government of India never made any request to these Governments to disclose these secret reports available with them.

In all probability Subhas Chandra Bose escaped into Russia and sought political asylum there. Recently, a letter written in July 1946 to Louis Fischer by Khurshed Nawroji, a trusted disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, shows that Gandhiji had information about Subhas Chandra Bose's presence in Russia in 1946. This letter strengthened the report of the Intelligence Deott. of the Wavell Government submitted in 1946 to the effect that Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru knew about Bose's escape to Russia. It also reported that Bose wrote to both Gandhi and Nehru in 1946 from Russia. (Letter to Louis Fischer, Encl. 2).

After the Winds of Glassnost and Perestroika began to blow in Soviet Russia I wrote a letter to Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev requesting him to disclose all facts about Subhas Chandra Bose in the possession of the Russian Government. As my letter remained unrepplied it was again separately forwarded to the Russian President by Shri Neelam Sanjiva Reddy, a former President of India, and then by Shri S. Nijalingappa, a former President of the Congress. These letters were also not replied (Letter to Gorbachev enclosed, Encl. 3).

Last year a Russian official, Dr. E.S. Yurlova of Moscow Oriental Studies, told pressmen in Calcutta that the Government of Russia possess many documents relating to Subhas Chandra Bose. It now appears from a series of articles recently published in the 'Soviet Land' on Subhas Chandra Bose that there is a positive change in the attitude of Russia about the Indian revolutionary leader. It is now probable, because of the sweeping democratic changes in Soviet Russia, its Government will agree to reveal all information about Subhas Chandra Bose if the Govt. of India make a direct approach to the highest authority of Soviet Russia.

We believe that you will certainly consider it as our overdue national duty to make every effort to know what really happened to our great national hero, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, after the fall of Japan. You are, therefore, earnestly requested :

(i) To set up a high level committee of experts to make an Investigative Inquiry into the secret documents available in the Governments of USSR, UK, Japan and the USA and China as well.

(ii) Further, as the Prime Minister of India you should directly address a letter to the President of Soviet Russia, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, to let the Indian people know whether Subhas Chandra Bose escaped into the Russia territory after the defeat of Japan in 1945 and if so, what happened to this great Leader of Indian National Liberation.

(iii) And, you should also write to the highest authorities of the USA and the UK to publish the findings of the inquiries made by Genl. Mac Arthur and Admiral Mountbatten about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. A similar letter should be addressed to the Japanese Govt. to release all facts about the report of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's alleged death in an aircrash that was broadcast by Tokyo Radio on August 23, 1945.

Dear Prime Minister ! Our countryman will gratefully hail you if you take effective steps to start an Investigative Inquiry by experts to finally find out what really happened to the Netaji of Indian people but for whose daring revolutionary exploits India would not have attained national sovereignty so soon after the British victory in the last Great War.

Let our Government make a supreme effort to resolve the mystery surrounding the destiny of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, the greatest revolutionary hero of our national freedom.

With regards and namaskar,

Yours sincerely,

*Samar Guha*

( SAMAR GUHA )

Encl: As stated.

Enclosure - I

(4)



PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi  
June 7, 1990

Dear Prof. Guha,

I have received your letter of May 17, 1990 regarding high level investigations into secret documents on the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, believed to be available in the USSR, UK, Japan and the USA.

I have asked the Ministry of External Affairs to look into this.

Regards,

Yours sincerely,

[Vishwanath Pratap Singh]

Prof. Samar Guha  
B/2, Central Park  
Calcutta - 700 032

Copy of a letter from Khurshed Naoroji to Louis Fischer

Dear Fischer -

22/7/46

I enclose a copy of Gandhiji's letter, as desired by you. But please dont think that he is not with us. I have been with him since my release from prison & he put the constructive Programme before the country which was overlooked by the Working Committee when they decided on constitutional methods.

Since the release of his colleagues of the Working Committee he has gone with the bec. they were not prepared to go with him but Gandhiji is essentially a man of action & when the time comes, he will take the country with him. The Socialists are merely implementing the constructive programme in the light of present circumstances. We must go to the people & forge mass sanctions. The people want to know the shape of things to come. Grouping of the provinces or the question of sovereignty does not touch them, they want a plan. Let our leaders go to the Govt. sponsored Constituent Assembly & we remain with the people to share their joys & sorrows. When the time comes we shall be one.

The Socialists do not want violence any more than does Gandhiji but what is practiced non-violence, we say non-killing. We have to put non-violence into practice & not just go talking of truth of non-violence. People want deals & not words. For twenty years we have talked on the ideal Government & the practical stage for us today is Panchayat Raj. Our people are very patient but even their patience is wearing thin. All Congress & their nationalist minded people are one but our headache is the Indo-Anglo-Russians. The foreign Govt. has built them upto fight the Congress & will have to deal with them now. They are going underground & if before the time the Allies (excluding Russia), have a scrap with Soviet Russia. India is not satisfied with the results of the Constituent Assembly. She will go over entirely & absolutely to the enemies of the Allies. The Indian army (not the Indian National Army) is no longer of the same temper as it was in the first World War. Besides the disaffection amongst the Indian officers and the rank & file, a revolutionary group has been working amongst them & they are pro-Russian. There have been many cases of court martial in the Indian army on individuals & platoons during the last war both in India & abroad. There have been mass desertions in the regular army & minor reaps in the N.W.F. Province at the beginning of the last war.

At heart the Indian army is sympathetic with the Indian National Army. If Bose comes with the help of Russia neither Gandhiji nor the Congress will be able to reason with the country. Also Russia for propaganda purposes declares itself an Asiatic country then there is no hope of any European alliance acceptable to India. Freedom for India under the aegis of Soviet Russia is no freedom for us; but it now rests with England to play fair by the people of India or be declared by us for ever as the enemy of India & of the Asiatics. There are other groups in north India pro-Russian, but after Russia joined the Allies they lost caste. However, the bitterness towards the English is so great that Russia will again come into favour on the event of any disagreement amongst the Allies.

Gandhiji is not touched with the international reactions but we can't afford to neglect the signs of the time specially when it concerns our freedom.

Yours,  
Khurshed.

Enclosure - 2 (Original)

22/7/46

Dear Fischer -

I enclose a copy of  
Gandhi's letter as desired by  
you. But please don't think  
that he is not with us.

I have been with him since  
my release from prison + the  
start of the Constitutional Program  
before the country which was  
overlooked by the working  
Committee when they decided on  
constitutional methods.

Since the return of the colleagues  
of the working Committee has gone  
with them but they were not  
prepared to go with him but  
Gandhi is essentially a man  
of action when the time

2.

comes, he will take the  
country with him.

The Socialists are merely  
implementing the constructive  
Programme in the light of  
present circumstances. We must  
go ~~to~~ <sup>with</sup> the people. People  
miss occasions. The people  
want to know the shape of  
things to come. Grasping of the  
provinces or the question of  
sovereignty does not touch ~~the~~  
<sup>them</sup> people, they want a plan.  
Let our leaders go to the  
Government and Constitution friendly  
we remain with the people  
share their joys sorrows  
when the time comes we shall

to us.

The socialist do not want violence any more than does Gandhiji but what is practised now violence we say non-killing we have to put non-violence into practice not just go talking of till non-violence People want deeds not words for twenty years we've talked on the ideal Govt & the practical sign for us today is Panchayat Raj. Our people are very patient but even their patience is wearing thin.

All Congress <sup>other</sup> nationalist wished people are one but our headache is the Indo-Anglo-Russian. The foreign Govt has built them

4.

(3)

up to fight the Congress we'll  
have to deal with them now. They  
are going underground if before  
time the Allies (excluding Russia) have  
a scrap with Soviet Russia, India  
is not satisfied with the results  
of the Constituent Assembly, she will  
go over entirely absolutely to the  
enemies of the Allies. The Indian  
army (not the Indian National Army)  
is no longer of the same temper as  
it was in the first world war.  
Besides the disaffection amongst  
the Indian officers the rank & file,  
a revolutionary group has been working  
amongst them they are pro German.  
There have been many cases of  
court martial on individuals & places

(10)

6

during the last war both in India  
abroad. There have been many  
desertions in the regular army  
minor scraps in the N.W.F. Province  
at the beginning of the <sup>last</sup> war.  
At least the Indian army is sympathetic  
with the Indian National Army.  
If Bose comes with the help of  
Russia neither Gandhi nor the  
Congress will be able to remain  
with the country. Also Russia  
for propagandistic purposes declares  
itself an Asiatic country. Then  
there is no hope of any European  
alliance acceptable to India. India  
for India under the axis of Soviet  
Russia is no freedom for us;  
but it now has to will England  
to play fair by the people  
of India or be declared by us  
for war as the enemy of India.

(11)

6.

Aristos. There are other groups in  
Russia pro Russia, but also Russia  
joined the Allies so I lost cash.  
However the bitterness towards  
the English is so great that Russia  
will again come into favour in  
the event of any disagreement  
amongst the Allies.

Grand Duke is not satisfied with  
the international reactions but  
we can't afford to neglect the  
signs of the time especially when  
it concerns our freedom.

Yours

If trusted



राष्ट्रपति  
भारत गणतंत्र  
PRESIDENT  
REPUBLIC OF INDIA

(12)

New Delhi,

January 10, 1991.

My dear Chandra Shekharji,

I am forwarding to you a representation from Prof. Samar Guha regarding Netaji's disappearance. You may have this examined.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

R. Venkataraman

R. VENKATARAMAN

✓ Shri Chandra Shekhar,  
Prime Minister of India,  
New Delhi.

803 Delhi

P. Secy. 157,  
Prop. upto

8-11  
151/1

204/DIR(m)/91  
316/ASCR/91/41  
14/1

2004/PM/6/91  
12/1

PRL. SECY. TO P.M.  
Dy. No... 122-V/91  
Date... 17/01/91

URGENT

we had papers. Draft News

14/1,  
Draught urgently with  
ppr pl, including  
brief for Cabinet meeting etc.

S.D.(Pal.) 14/1  
151/1

Yashwant  
14/1/1

PROF. SAMAR GUHA  
Ex. MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



13  
8/2 CENTRAL PARK  
CALCUTTA 700032

January 1/1990

Shri R. Venkatraman  
President of India  
Rastrapati Bhavan  
New Delhi

Respected Rastrapatiji,

You will kindly remember that in response to a memorandum given to you by me which you were pleased to send to the Prime Minister of the time - Shri V.P.Singh, the Govt. of India agreed to institute an Investigative Inquiry into all unpublished documents lying with the Govt. of USSR, UK, Japan and USA for finding out what ultimately happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

In that memorandum it was pointed out to you that the Govt. of Morarji Desai rejected the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee and the Khosla Commission on Disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose as 'inconclusive'. It, therefore, became a concomitant task for the Government of India to institute further inquiry, in a befitting manner, to track the destiny of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, who was believed to have escaped into Russia under the camouflage of a make-believe story of his death in a plane-crash.

From all available reports, indications became almost unmistakable that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose did enter into the territory of Soviet Russia for taking political asylum in that country.

In my letter addressed to the President of USSR, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev I cited many reports about Netaji's presence in Russia after the news of his alleged aircrash death was broadcast by Tokyo Radio in August 1945.

Recently, I have got a copy of a letter written to the American Journalist - Mr. Loui Fischer, in July 1946 by Khrushed Naoroji, a very trusted disciple of Mahatma Gandhi. This letter is an additional evidence of Gandhi's knowledge about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's presence in Soviet Russia in 1946. I am enclosing a copy of the letter for your kind perusal. I am also including a summary of many reports and facts that indicated that Netaji managed to escape into Russia after August 1945.

*With Compliments  
Recd \*  
CL  
1/1*



Shri V.P.Singh as Prime Minister of N.F.Govt. informed me on June 7, 1990 that

'...Regarding high level investigation into secret documents on the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose believed to be available in USSR, UK, Japan and the USA, I have asked the Minister of External Affairs to look into this...'.

However, because of sudden political change the Minister of External Affairs could not initiate this investigative inquiry. During my visit to USA and UK in the middle of 1990 I personally contacted Indian Ambassador in Washington and High Commissioner in London who showed keen interest in the matter of Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. But they did not get any direction to move about the matter.

I would fervently urge you to ask the present Prime Minister - Shri Chandrasekhar, - to fulfill the promise made by the former N.F. Government, by initiating a high level Investigative Inquiry with the help of experts about the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. You will surely agree that it is our national duty to know what really happened to the greatest national hero of our freedom struggle, - a duty which should not remain unfulfilled any longer.

With warm regards and namaskar,

Yours sincerely,

*Samar Guha*  
( SAMAR GUHA )

Encl: As stated.

PROF. SAMAR GUHA  
FORMER  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



8/2 CENTRAL PARK  
CALCUTTA 700032  
INDIA

#### ABOUT SAMAR GUHA THE WRITER OF THE LETTER

Professor Samar Guha, the writer of this letter, is now 71. He is an old revolutionary and an associate of Subhas Chandra Bose and Jayaprakash Narayan.

Prof. Guha had been in detention and prison for about 11 years during the days of British Rule in India. He had been also in Pakistan prison and many times in prisons in Free India in connection with people's movement.

Prof. Guha is a Chemistry Scholar, author of many books and former teacher of Chemistry of Jadavpur University, Calcutta.

Prof. Guha was 3-times elected to the Indian Parliament from Bengal. He was the leader of the Socialist Party in Parliament and 3-time Chairman of the Privilege Committee of the House of People, - the highest Judicial body of the Indian Parliament.

Prof. Guha was a member of the highest committee of Forward Bloc (S), and Socialist Party and still continues to be in the highest body of the present Janata Party.

PROF. SAMAR GUHA  
FORMER  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



16  
3/4 CENTRAL PARK  
CALCUTTA 700032  
INDIA

Comrade Mekhail Gorbachev  
President of U S S R  
General Secretary of the  
CPSU Central Committee  
Moscow  
U. S. S. R.

November 5/1988

Dear Comrade Gorbachev,

Kindly accept my hearty greetings for the innovation of the new revolutionary concepts of 'Glasnost' and 'Perestroika'. Your bold move will liberate the eclipsed image of the Russian Revolution and create a new hope of moving towards a new horizon of human liberty and progress.

I am a socialist but not a Communist. However, I always shared the views of my leader, Subhas Chandra Bose, the Russian Revolution should be looked upon as the most significant landmark in the history of evolution of human civilisation. Our anti-imperialist struggle for national liberation was immensely influenced by the heritage of 1917 Russian Revolution. But the Stalin-era of absolute rigour and repression in Russia raised many questions in the mind of Indian people about the Soviet System.

Your recent crusade for nuclear-arm-free world peace and your daring precepts of 'Glasnost' and 'Perestroika', to remodel the Stalinist polity and economic system of Soviet Russia have created a universal feeling of appreciation and hope all over the world. If your far-sighted move succeeds, it will open a new era of peace, amity and international understanding.

How the Indian people wish that the Nobel peace Prize be presented to you and you be hailed as the Man of Peace and Progress of the world!

While sincerely congratulating you for your policy of 'Openness' I am placing before you an earnest request for opening the mystery about the fate of the greatest revolutionary hero of Indian freedom, Subhas Chandra Bose, whose image is as captivating for the Indian people as that of Mahatma Gandhi.



After fall of Japan on 15th August, 1945, Tokyo Radio reported on 23rd August 1945 that Subhas Chandra Bose, the Head of the State of the Government of Free India, died in a plane crash at Taihoku (Taipei) in Formosa (Taiwan) on 18th August 1945. The report was considered by the British Government and the Indian people as a palpably fake news intended to cover Subhas Chandra Bose's escape to Russia via Manchuria and across the territory of Siberia.

The reasons for the belief that Bose escaped to Russia are following :

1. Subhas Chandra Bose, twice elected President of the Indian National Congress, always considered Soviet Russia as the greatest ally of the struggle for Indian freedom.
2. During the War days Bose tried to establish contact with Stalin through British Communist Party.
3. While escaping from British prison and British India, in January 1941, Bose intended to go to Russia while reaching Kabul but without getting necessary response from Stalin, he had to move to Berlin across the Russian territory in a tactical bid to use Axis Power, the enemy of the British Imperialism, for securing Indian freedom.
4. Although Bose had his collaboration with the Axis Power to wage revolutionary war against British Imperialism for the national liberation of India, he never uttered a word against Russia during the War days nor acted in anyway against Russian interest. When Hitler treacherously attacked Russia, - Bose, who was then in Berlin, did not fear to take immense risk to denouncing it as an 'imperialist war against Russia', in his letter to Nazi Foreign Minister, Ribbentrop. Bose did not allow his revolutionary army, organised in Germany, to fight against the Russians.
5. After German aggression of Russia, Subhas Bose made an unprecedented 3-month submarine dash from Germany to Singapore to join hands with Japan, because Japan was then at war with the British but it had its friendly tie with Soviet Russia.



6. While waging revolutionary war of Indian Liberation against the British across the eastern border of India, Bose always tried to maintain contact with the Russian leaders through Jacob Malik, - the then Russian Ambassador in Tokyo.

7. Major General Isoda and Col. Tada of the Headquarter of Field Marshall Tarauchi at Saigon, who were entrusted by Japan for ensuring safe escape of Subhas Bose from being arrested by the British Army, admitted before the 'Commission of Inquiry about Disappearance of Subhas Chandra Bose' that Japan agreed to Bose's request to airlift him to Manchuria so that he could take political asylum in Russia by crossing into the Siberian territory. Accordingly, Bose was escorted to Manchuria by Gen. Shedio of the Jap Army.

8. Two months after the report of Bose's death in an air crash in Taipei, the Home Minister of the British Government in India informed the British Prime Minister Mr. Attlee in a secret report (1945) :

"Subhas Bose might, of course in certain circumstances, be welcomed in Russia. The easiest course would be to leave him where he is and not to ask for his release."

9. During the early part of 1946, a secret report sent to the British Viceroy in India by its intelligence stated :

"There is a secret report which says, Nehru received a letter from Bose saying that he was in Russia and wanted to escape to India."

10. In another secret report to the British Government by its intelligence said :

"Ghilazi Malang had been coupling with live Bose in Russia, and in December (1945) a report said the Governor of Afgan Province 'Khost' has been informed by the Russian Ambassador in Kabul that there are many Congress refugees in Moscow and Bose was included in their number. There is little reason for such persons to bring Bose into fabricated stories."

"At the same time views that Russian officers are disclosing or alleging that Bose is in Moscow is supplied in a report received from Teharan. This stated that Maradoff, the Russian Vice-Consul General, disclosed in March (1946) that Bose is in Russia."

11. Another intelligence report received in Delhi on December 26, 1945 said :



"Subhas Chandra Bose arrived at Dairen (in Manchuria) at 1.30 afternoon on August 23, 1945. Bose got into a jeep and proceeded toward Russian territory. After 3 hours the jeep returned and informed pilot of the plane who flew back to Tokyo." (On this day i.e. after Bose's escape to Russia Tokyo Radio reported Bose's death in an air crash at Taipei).

12. The Inter-Pole, an welknown world secret service published a report in India that Subhas Bose went to Russia after fall of Japan.

13. Many other reports appeared in the Indian press about Subhas Bose's presence in Russia. These reports said that Bose was first a free man in Russia but later he was sent to a Siberian Concentration Camp.

14. Dr. S.Radhakrishnan, who was the second Indian Ambassador in Moscow, confided his close friends Dr. S.Das, then head of Philosophy Deptt. in Calcutta University and Dr. R.C.Majumdar, the most distinguished Indian historian of his time that he came to know that Bose was kept captive in Stalin's Russia.

15. Recently, I have came across of a very important report about Subhas Bose's presence in Russia in 1961, from an Indian engineer, A.Sarkar, of Calcutta. Sarkar was sent to Russia 3 times for training in connection with the Heavy Engineering Corporation for manufacturing heavy machinery, set up in collaboration with Russia. Sarkar learnt Russian well.

Sarkar worked in Machine Building Plant at Gorlovka near the city Doniesk. He came in contact of a German-Jew who was the Deputy Chief of the Plant (Machinostroitelinizavod). His name was B.A.Zerobin, who was earlier an war machine designer in Nazi Germany.

Zerobin told Sarkar that he was captured in Berlin after fall of Germany and was sent to a Re-orientation Camp somewhere in Siberia. He was first taken to Siberia by train and thereafter flown to an undisclosed place and then taken to the Orientation Camp. Zerobin surmised that the Camp was somewhere near Siberian-Mongolian boarder.

Zerobin claimed that in this re-orientation camp, meant for political classes for only top foreign politicians and engineers, he met Subhas Bose on two occasions.



Zerobin could recognise Bose as he saw him earlier in Berlin during the War days. Bose's Headquarter was then in Berlin. Because of the handsome appearance and rare cut-out of the feature of his distinguished personality Zerobin could immediately recognise Bose.

According to Zerobin, Bose was brought to the Camp in a car accompanied by 2 Mongolians, one as his interpreter. Zerobin believed that both the Mongolians were KGB men but it appeared to him that Bose was well looked after.

Zerobin told Bose, "Sir, I met you in Berlin." Bose replied, 'Quite likely'.

Bose asked Zerobin: "What are you doing here?"

Zerobin : "I don't know what for".

Zerobin again asked Bose, "What is your programme? Are you going back to India?"

Bose : "I expect it to be soon."

While Bose and Zerobin were talking in German, the Mongolian interpreter, intervened saying, 'Not allowed'.

Zerobin never met Bose thereafter in the Camp.

Zerobin while disclosing his meeting with Subhas Bose warned Sarkar that he should not to disclose it while in Russia as it would endanger both.

Sarkar told about the matter to the Second Secretary of the Indian Embassy in Moscow, who also warned him of the dire consequence if he disclosed it to any body.

Sarkar recently told me about Bose's presence in Russia till 1961 in a particular circumstances as he is now out of Government service and believes that Zerobin is now dead.

Comrade Gorbachev! You have taken many bold steps in disclosing many suppressed facts of horror and repression of the Stalin days. You have done great justice to history by rehabilitating Trotsky and Bhukharin, and restoring honour to the great scientist, Prof. Sakharov. Inspired by your great liberal policy of 'Glasnost', I would make an appeal - an appeal from the depth of my soul to you - on behalf of the patriotic people of India to reveal all facts about the universally adored hero of the Indian people, Subhas Chandra Bose.

(21)

PROF. SAMAR GUHA  
FORMER  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



-6-

Stalin might have done injustice to the legendary hero of Indian freedom, but why would you not reveal it now? Bose was a Promethean hero of Indian Revolution who staked everything for the liberation of his motherland and who was always very friendly with Russia. Why should you not let the India people know what happened to their enterprising national hero? We in India believe you to be a man of great vision and human feeling. If you let the Indian people know all about the presence of Subhas Bose in Russia, you will win the hearts of millions of millions of the people of India.

When Comrade Brezhnev visited India in November, 1973, I met him in the President's House as the leader of the Socialist Party in the Indian Parliament and gave him a letter seeking information about Subhas Bose's presence in Russia. The letter was acknowledged but not replied. (A copy of the letter is enclosed).

Considering the poignancy of the issue involved about our greatest national hero, I hope you will excuse me for addressing this long letter to you.

I am eagerly expecting your reply before your visit to India.  
With warmest regards.

Yours sincerely,

*Samar Guha*  
( SAMAR GUHA )  
Former leader of the  
Socialist Party in Parliament

Encl: As stated.

PROF. SAMAR GUHA  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



27, SOUTH AVENUE  
NEW DELHI 11  
November 29, 1973

22

Dear Comrade Brezhnev,

I, on behalf of the Socialist Party in the Parliament, extend our warm greetings to you and your colleagues now in India and, through you, to the great people of Russia. Russian Revolution and its national reconstruction added great incentive to our aspiration to achieve socialist transformation of our country in an Indian way, under Indian condition and on the basis of democratic and cultural values that the people of our country cherished from the days of our ancient civilization. We welcome friendly relation with Russia as also with other countries for establishing fraternal relation of peace, progress, understanding and mutual respect of national independence of all countries.

On the occasion of your visit to our country, I want to make an earnest request to you to help the Indian people to resolve the mystery surrounding the fate of their beloved leader, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. A very large section of Indian people believe that Russia can throw light about what happened to their leader.

I am sure, it is known to you that the Indian people honour Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose as the greatest revolutionary of the days of their national liberation struggle.

It may be known to you that, to resolve the mystery about Netaji Bose, the Government of India have set up a second Inquiry Commission under a Justice of a High Court. The Commission, after about 3 years of its investigation works, is in the last stage of finalizing its report. However, the Commission suffered for want of documents from countries like Soviet Russia, U.S.A. and Britain connected with the episode of disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose after escaping from India in 1941, wanted to go to Russia to set up his headquarters in the Soviet-land for conducting revolutionary struggle against the British imperialism. Although Russia at that time did not accept his plan yet allowed him to pass through Russia, with honour, to Italy.

Netaji Bose joined hands with the Axis power in Europe, as his strategy was to utilize the Britain's enemy's enemy for achieving India's independence. Although he collaborated with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy for achieving his revolutionary objective, he never compromised his ideology of socialism with the totalitarian ideology of the fascist countries. It is on record that he expressed his deep resentment against the treacherous



aggression on your motherland by Hitler. He made it absolutely clear to Hitler before he left for Japan that the Indian revolutionary army, that was formed under his leadership in Germany would not be compelled to fight, under any circumstances, in the eastern front against Soviet Russia but only against the British army in the western front. Many Indians of the Revolutionary Army for their refusal to fight against the Soviet Army, had to face extreme persecution at the hands of Nazi Germany. Even while Netaji Bose was in Germany, he always maintained a friendly attitude towards Russia and did not utter a single word in support of Nazi aggression against your Motherland. Coming to Japan after 90 days of most hazardous submarine journey, which no revolutionary in any time before dared to undertake in fulfilling a sacred mission of liberation of his country, Netaji Bose formed a big Indian National Army and had set up a Provisional Government of free India. This Provisional Government, which was recognized by 11 nations of those days, had declared war against Britain and U.S.A., but it steadfastly maintained a policy of friendship with Russia and China. The Indian National Army, under the leadership of the legendary personality of Netaji Bose, fought the glorious battle of Indian liberation against the British imperialism in the Indian soil along the Indo-Burmese frontier. Netaji has been hailed in India as the greatest Hero of the Indian people and the chapter of the liberation struggle of the Revolutionary Army of Netaji Bose is remembered as the proudest phase of the march of Indian freedom.

After the defeat of Germany in 1944, when it appeared to him that the defeat of Japan was also an inevitability, Netaji Bose tried to contact Russia to cross over to your country and resume India's freedom struggle from there after the fall of Japan. He prepared the plan to cross into Russia through Manchuria. The fact about this plan has been corroborated by the findings of the first Netaji Inquiry Commission from the records of the Provisional Free India Government.

Soon after the fall of Japan in the month of August, 1945, Netaji made an air dash to reach Manchuria in an effort to contact the Russian authority there and thereafter enter into the Soviet territory of Siberia. On 18th August, 1945, Japan made an unconvincing broadcast that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose died in a plane crash at Taipei airport in Formosa (Taiwan).

The Indian people, for various unassailable reasons, did not believe in the story of reported death of their beloved leader. Recently, I visited Taipei in Formosa alongwith Netaji Inquiry Commission. After making thorough inquiry about the report



-3-

of death of Netaji at Taipei, I came back to India with positive conviction that the whole story of Netaji Bose's death at Taipei was a part of a master deception plan to enable Netaji Bose to safely reach Manchuria and thereafter to go to Soviet Russia.

Many reports appeared in the Indian press that the great revolutionary leader of the Indian people, Netaji Bose, indeed reached Russia and he was a free man in Russia but sometime after, he was arrested by Stalin and kept in a prison in Siberia. Many years passed but the Indian people did not get any official information about Netaji Bose from the Government of Soviet Russia under Com. Stalin or the new regime set up in Russia after the death of the great Russian leader.

On behalf of the Indian people, I make an earnest appeal to you to send all documents that are in the hands of the Government of Russia about Netaji Bose and also what the Russian Government know about him. I hope and trust that, in the interest of friendship between the two peoples of Russia and India, as also Russia being a land of great revolution, you will kindly take personal interest in giving all informations to the Indian people regarding their great leader Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and send all the documents to the Government of India connected therewith, for placing the same before the Netaji Inquiry Commission. The Indian people will remain ever grateful to you if you kindly consider the matter as very urgent as the second Netaji Inquiry Commission is going to finalise its findings very soon.

I again extend our warmest greetings to you and through you our best wishes to the people of your Motherland.

With warmest regards,

Yours comradely,  
Sd/- Samar Guha  
Leader of the  
Socialist Party in Parliament

Com. Leonid Brezhnev,  
General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party,  
Care Rashtrapati Bhawan, New Delhi

The letter was duly received by the staff of the Russian leader, but regrettably the expected reply never came. However, to bring some pressure on the Russian authority, the letter was given fair publicity by the Indian press.

22/7/46

Dear Fischer -

I enclose a copy of  
Gandhi's letter as desired by  
you. But please don't think  
that he is not wild as.

I have been with him since  
my release from prison & he  
put the Constitutive Program  
before the country which was  
overlooked by the working  
Committee when they decided on  
constitutional methods.

Since the release of his colleagues  
of the working Committee has gone  
with them but they were not  
prepared to go with him but  
Gandhi is essentially a man  
of action & when the time

26

2.

comes, he will take the  
country with him.

The Socialists are merely  
implementing the Constitutional  
Programme in the light of  
present circumstances. We must  
go ~~down~~ to the people & forge  
new sanctions. The people  
want to know the shape of  
things to come. Grasping of the  
Provinces or the question of  
sovereignty does not touch ~~the~~  
~~them~~, they want a plan.  
Let our leaders go to the  
Gord sponsored Constituent Assembly  
we remain with the people  
to share their joys & sorrows.  
When the time comes we shall

be one

The socialist do not want violence  
any more than does Gandhiji but  
what is practised now violence,  
we say non-violence we have to  
put non-violence into practice  
not just go talking of trill non-violence  
People want deeds not words  
For twenty years we've talked on  
the ideal Govt & the practical  
one for us today is Panchoyat  
Raj. Our people are very patient  
but even their patience is  
waning thin.

All Congress <sup>other</sup> nationalist minded  
people are one but our leader  
is Mr. Gokhale-Anglo-Gusain. The  
foreign Govt has built them

4.

up to fight the Germans we'll have to deal with them now. They are going underground & by the time the Allies (excluding Russia) have a say with Soviet Russia & India is not satisfied with the results of the Constituent Assembly, she will go over entirely absolutely to the enemies of the Allies. The Indian army (not the Indian National Army) is no longer of the same temper as it was in the first world war. Besides the disaffection amongst the Indian officers & the rank & file, a revolutionary group has been working amongst them they are pro German. There have been many cases of court martial in the Indian army against individuals & places.

6

during the last war both in India  
abroad. There have been mass  
desertions in the regular army  
and minor revolts in the N.W.F. Province  
at the beginning of the <sup>last</sup> war.  
At least the Indian army is sympathetic  
with the Indian National Army.  
If Bose comes with the help of  
Russia neither Gandhi ji nor the  
Congress will be able to move  
with the country. Also Russia  
for its propagandist purposes declares  
itself an Asiatic country. Then  
there is no hope of any European  
alliance acceptable to India. Freedom  
for India under the aegis of Soviet  
Russia is no freedom for us;  
but it now rests with England  
to play fair by the people  
of India or to be declared by us  
for war as the enemy of India & England.

6.

Anatolia. There are other groups in  
Russia pro Russia, but other Russia  
joined the Allies so I lost contact.  
However the bitterness towards  
the English is so great that Russia  
will again come into favour in  
the event of any disagreement  
amongst the Allies.

Franklin is not pleased with  
the international reactions but  
we can't afford to neglect the  
signs of the time especially when  
it concerns our freedom.

Russia

if history

31

Copy of a letter from Khurshed Naoroji to Louis Fischer

Dear Fischer -

22/7/46

I enclose a copy of Gandhiji's letter, as desired by you. But please dont think that he is not with us. I have been with him since my release from prison & he put the constructive Programme before the country which was overlooked by the Working Committee when they decided on constitutional methods.

Since the release of his colleagues of the Working Committee he has gone with the bec. they were not prepared to go with him but Gandhiji is essentially a man of action & when the time comes, he will take the country with him. The Socialists are merely implementing the constructive programme in the light of present circumstances. We must go to the people & forge mass sanctions. The people want to know the shape of things to come. Grouping of the provinces or the question of sovereignty does not touch them, they want a plan. Let our leaders go to the Govt. sponsored Constituent Assembly & we remain with the people to share their joys & sorrows. When the time comes we shall be one.

The Socialists do not want violence any more than does Gandhiji but what is practiced non-violence, we say non-killing. We have to put non-violence into practice & not just go talking of truth of non-violence. People want deals & not words. For twenty years we have talked on the ideal Government & the practical stage for us today is Panchayat Raj. Our people are very patient but even their patience is wearing thin. All Congress & their nationalist minded people are one but our headache is the Indo-Anglo-Russians. The foreign Govt. has built them upto fight the Congress & will have to deal with them now. They are going underground & if before the time the Allies (excluding Russia), have a scrap with Soviet Russia. India is not satisfied with the results of the Constituent Assembly. She will go over entirely & absolutely to the enemies of the Allies. The Indian army (not the Indian National Army) is no longer of the same temper as it was in the first World War. Besides the disaffection amongst the Indian officers and the rank & file, a revolutionary group has been working amongst them & they are pro-Russian. There have been many cases of court martial in the Indian army on individuals & platoons during the last war both in India & abroad. There have been mass desertions in the regular army & minor reaps in the N.W.F. Province at the beginning of the last war.

At heart the Indian army is sympathetic with the Indian National Army. If Bose comes with the help of Russia neither Gandhiji nor the Congress will be able to reason with the country. Also Russia for propaganda purposes declares itself an Asiatic country then there is no hope of any European alliance acceptable to India. Freedom for India under the aegis of Soviet Russia is no freedom for us; but it now rests with England to play fair by the people of India or be declared by us for ever as the enemy of India & of the Asiatics. There are other groups in north India pro-Russian, but after Russia joined the Allies they lost caste. However, the bitterness towards the English is so great that Russia will again come into favour on the event of any disagreement amongst the Allies.

Gandhiji is not touched with the international reactions but we can't afford to neglect the signs of the time specially when it concerns our freedom.

Yours,  
Khurshed.



## PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi  
June 7, 1990

Dear Prof. Guha,

I have received your letter of May 17, 1990 regarding high level investigations into secret documents on the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, believed to be available in the USSR, UK, Japan and the USA.

I have asked the Ministry of External Affairs to look into this.

Regards,

Yours sincerely,

[Vishwanath Pratap Singh]

Prof. Samir Guha  
B/2, Central Park  
Calcutta - 700 032



## PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi  
January 18, 1991

Respected Rashtrapati,

*SM-2/c 4/1-2/par*

I have received your letter of 10th January forwarding a representation from Prof. Samar Guha regarding Netaji's disappearance. This issue will be looked into.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

*Chandrashekhar*  
(Chandra Shekhar)

Shri R. Venkataraman  
President of India  
Rashtrapati Bhavan  
New Delhi

*Pr. Secy. P.M.*

DIR. (P)'S OFFICE  
DY. No. 1153  
DATE... 23/1

*R. 21/1*  
*TSTR* *Chandrashekhar*

*Banerji*

*Mishra*

*22/1*  
*JS (S)* *23/1. Dir (P)*

*S.O. (Secy) 12/23/1991*  
*P.M.*

870/11/8/10/91

639/755  
23/1

PRL. SECY. TO P.M.  
Dy. No. 122-V/91

Date... 21/1/91

316/PSCR/91 *1106 PM*  
*2nd*

SAMAR GUHA  
EX-MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



Janata Dal  
7 Jantar Mantar Road  
New Delhi-110001

January 12, 1991

Shri Chandrasekhar  
Prime Minister of India  
New Delhi

SNF ✓

Dear Chandrasekharji,

Although you gave me time to see you again on 11th January, unfortunately you could not find time for it, presumably, because of your-over-schedule Parliamentary works.

I would request you to go through the two memoranda given to you about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

On an advice from the President of India, Shri R. Venkataraman, the National Front Government promised to hold an Investigative Inquiry into the secret documents of the USSR, UK, USA and Japan, but it had no time to move about the matter.

I met the President on 10th January and had been with him for over 30 minutes to apprise him about the latest documents and reports in regard to Netaji's disappearance. The President strongly feels about the necessity of holding an Investigative Inquiry to find out what really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

I am sure the President will take up the matter about Netaji with you. Before that I wanted to acquaint you about its background. But unfortunately, you could not keep your appointment for reasons, perhaps, beyond your control.

*2100 AM 456 IPM 91  
Samar Guha*

...2

DY. No ..... 456 .... IPM 91  
Dated ..... 29/1 .....

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



(25)

-2-

You are going to Calcutta on 14th January.  
Will it be possible for you to give me 15/20 minutes  
exclusive time at Calcutta Raj Bhawan to explain  
to you the objective of the desired Investigative  
Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra  
Bose?

If so, I <sup>may</sup> be kindly informed at ~~.....~~, ~~.....~~

8/2 Central Park  
(Jadavpur)  
Calcutta-32  
Phone: 72-1600

With regards and namaskar,

Yours sincerely,

*Samar Guha*  
(SAMAR GUHA, Ex-MP)



38

PRIME MINISTER

4/c  
JNO. 1-2 M/12  
2-4/c

New Delhi  
January 24, 1991

Dear Shri Guha,

I have received your letter of 12th January, 1991 regarding the need for an inquiry into the disappearance of Netaji.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

*Chander Shekhar*

[Chandra Shekhar]

6/c

Shri Samar Guha  
7, Jantar Mantar Road  
New Delhi - 110 001

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P.M.  
10.1.91  
DY. No. 1667  
DATE..... 4/2  
P.M.  
8/1/91

8/1/91/1/1/1991

2009-Bally  
4/c

PROF. SAMAR GUHA  
• MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



8/2 CENTRAL PARK  
CALCUTTA 700032

February 6/1991

Dear Chandrasekharji,

Thank you for acknowledging the receipt of the memorandum given to you regarding the proposed 'Investigative Inquiry' about the Disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.'

In the connection I have also received a letter from the Joint Secretary of the President, which says :

"The President wishes me to convey his thanks to you for your letter of January 21, and to let you know that he had taken up the subject with the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister has informed the President that the issue will be looked into."

Knowing you for long years, I believe you will feel the pulse of the sensitivity behind this poignant issue.

I would earnestly request you to set <sup>up</sup> the proposed Expert Committee for starting 'Investigative Inquiry' about the fate of Netaji. The matter is painfully hanging for too long.

If it is required I would come to Delhi by the end of February to explain to you all about the necessity of Investigative Inquiry about Netaji.

Chandrasekharji! in this matter my expectation is very high in you. If you make a positive move to unfold the mystery about what really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, the people of India will hail you, - shower their blessings ~~on~~ <sup>up</sup> you. I beseech you to take up this sacred national task without any delay.

With best wishes and regards,

*20/2/1991*

*12/2*

Shri Chandrasekhar  
Prime Minister of India  
New Delhi

Yours sincerely,

*Samar Guha*

( SAMAR GUHA )

A decision on this is being  
taken in the CEPD. It may  
take some time.  
2/2/91

*12/2*  
*13/2*

*12/2*  
*P. M. 2/2*  
*2708 Feb 13/2*

*8/2/1991*



भारत के राष्ट्रपति का संयुक्त सचिव  
Joint Secretary to the President of India

Mo F 3/ TS N/91

राष्ट्रपति भवन  
नई दिल्ली

38

Rashtrapati Bhavan  
New Delhi

January 29, 1991.

Dear Professor,

The President wishes me to convey his thanks to you for your letter of January 21, and to let you know that he had taken up the subject with the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister has informed the President that the issue will be looked into.

With regards

Yours sincerely,

Gopalkrishna Gandhi

Prof. Samar Guha,  
8/2, Central Park,  
Calcutta 700032.

PROF. SAMAR GUHA  
Ex. MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



8/2 CENTRAL PARK  
CALCUTTA 700032

26 February 1991

39

Dear Chandrasekharji,

I am again reminding you about the urgency of setting up an Investigative Inquiry Committee of the experts for inquiring into disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and finally resolve the mystery shrouding his fate. I have already written to you that Rastrapati<sup>ji</sup> informed me about your agree<sup>ing</sup> to set up such a committee.

Chandrasekharji! Although a political gulf has been created between us, but still I believe that you will appreciate much more than any other PM the patriotic intensity of the demand for setting up an Investigative Inquiry to fulfill our sacred national duty to the greatest national hero of our freedom. India must know what really happened to Netaji.

It is not an unexpected misfortune that when your assertive confidence began to create impression in the country you are being threatened to be dislodged. It seems anything may happen at any time now, because of the fishy politics of the vital ally of the JD(S).

This is the reason why I am very much anxious to request you to set up the Investigative Inquiry Committee - without delay - so that it may go on with the assigned task irrespective of any political change.

With my personal regards and namaskar,

3056.

7/3/91

Shri Chandrasekhar  
Prime Minister of India  
3 South Avenue Lane  
New Delhi 110011

Yours sincerely,

Samar Guha  
( SAMAR GUHA )

8/9/11/8/10/91

PRL. SECY. TO P.M.  
Dy. No. 377-V/91  
Date 5/3/91

PM'S Personal Section

DY. NO. 4052-G

DATE 5/3/91

R/3  
JSC(f)  
R/3  
JSC(f)

pol 2  
6/3/91

1627/PS(S)/26/3

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LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT  
(COMMITTEE BRANCH-I)

SD/3/10/1

Subject : Letter from Shri Samar Guha, Ex-M.P.  
regarding setting up an expert Committee  
for high Level Investigation into the  
secret documents on disappearance of  
Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

...

P.S. to the Prime Minister may please  
receive a letter, in original, dated nil, received from  
Shri Samar Guha, Ex-M.P., on the above subject, for  
such action as is deemed fit.

*A. N. GUPTA*  
( A.N. GUPTA )  
UNDER SECRETARY

*JSI/11*  
*20/3*  
*21/3*  
*PMO (H.S.)*  
  
P.S. to Prime Minister

L.S.S.U.O. No. 2/3/CI/91, dated 18 March, 1991

what is the CCPA decision  
on this?

*M. Shankar*  
21/3

*F. SD (Roe)*

*✓ SD (M.P.) ✓*

CCPA's minutes are not  
circulated to the members of  
CCPA and PMO. Pl put up the  
CCPA's brief for Dir(GS)'s info.

*Sub C.M.*

*Brief is placed below for  
m/a. Please.*

*22/3*

*✓ 21/3*

*Dir(GS)*

P. M. O. (NGO)  
Dy. No. 243/S/91  
Date 21-3-91

-----  
PM'S Personal Section  
I.Y. NO 4724-G  
DATE 20-3-91

1964/755  
20/3  
Dy. No 2293.....1 Dir (M.P.)  
Date 21-3-91

2734/PSCR/11

*Samar Guha*  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



Dear Rabi baba,

I hope you will remember that Shri Morarji Desai, in a public statement in Lok Sabha on September, 1978, declined to accept the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission of Enquiry into 'disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose' since August 18, 1945 as 'conclusive'. Shri Morarji Desai as the then Prime Minister of India, thus, re-opened the issue of a fresh inquiry about Netaji mystery.

Morarjibhai, thereafter, suggested to me that instead of holding any public enquiry after so many years of alleged aircrash involving Netaji it will be more effective if an Investigative Inquiry by experts is made to find out what really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. I agreed to Morarjibhai's suggestion. But sudden political change in 1979 kept the matter hanging.

After the National Front Government came into power I took up the matter with the President of India, Shri R.Venkataraman and the then Prime Minister, Shri V.P.Singh. On an advice from the President Shri R. Venkatraman, Shri V.P. Singh agreed to start a high level Investigative Inquiry into disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and informed me in a letter dt. 7.6.90:

"...I have asked the Minister of External Affairs for high level investigation into 'secret documents' on Disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose believed to be available in the USSR, UK, Japan and USA".  
(See Annexure I)

But because of sudden political change the proposed investigation could not be started.

After installation of the Government under Shri Chandrasekhar, I made a fresh move to meet the President and the Prime Minister for implementing the assurance given by the National Front Government. The President of India took up the matter with Shri Chandrasekhar who agreed to implement the advice of the President for a fresh Investigative Inquiry into the mystery shrouding the fate of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

The Joint Secretary to the President of India informed me in a letter dt. January 29, 1991:

"The President wishes me to convey his thanks to you for your letter of January 21, and to let you know that he had taken up the subject with the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister has informed the President that the issue will be looked into." (See Annexure II)

I trust you will feel that it is our overdue national duty to find out what really happened to the greatest national hero of our National Liberation, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Let our future generation not accuse us of failure to acknowledge our gratitude to the Revolutionary Pilgrim of India who dedicated himself absolutely in fulfilment of the mission of liberation of his motherland.

I would urge you, in the name of God and our Motherland to take up the matter with the Prime Minister - Shri Chandrasekhar requesting him to set up immediately an Expert Committee for High Level Investigation into the 'secret documents' on disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose believed to be available with the Governments of USSR, Japan, UK, USA and China.

I believe you will raise the matter on the floor of the Parliament as well to create a moral compulsion on the Government to fulfil our national duty to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

With regards,

26th February,  
8/2, Central Park,  
Calcutta - 700 032.

Yours sincerely,

Samar Guha  
(SAMAR GUHA)



42

## PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi  
June 27, 1990Sub: Letter dated 15th June, 1990 regarding investigation  
into the documents of Netaji Subhas Chandra  
Bose

Dear Prof. Guha,

Your letter on the above subject has been received.

I shall have the matter looked into.

Regards,

Yours sincerely,

Prof. Samar Guha  
8/2, Central Park  
Calcutta

[Vishwanath Pratap Singh]

## ANNEXURE II

भारत के राष्ट्रपति का संयुक्त सचिव  
*Joint Secretary to the President of India*

No F 3/JS/91

राष्ट्रपति भवन  
नई दिल्ली*Rashtrapati Bhavan  
New Delhi*

January 29, 1991.

Dear Professor,

The President wishes me to convey his thanks to you for your letter of January 21, and to let you know that he had taken up the subject with the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister has informed the President that the issue will be looked into.

*With regards*

Yours sincerely,

Prof. Samar Guha,  
8/2, Central Park,  
Calcutta 700032.*Gopalkrishna Gandhi*

DINESH GOSWAMI  
Member of Parliament  
(Rajya Sabha)



11 Race Course Road  
New Delhi-110011

Bharalumukh,  
Guwahati.  
Phone : 40377

March 18, 1991.

Dear Prime Minister,

Please find enclosed herewith a letter from Prof. Samar Guha, ex-MP regarding enquiry regarding the issue of disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

I shall be obliged if you kindly take appropriate action and set up an Expert Committee as suggested by Shri Guha so that the people of the nation could know as to what has happened to the greatest son of this motherland.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

( DINESH GOSWAMI )

R.P.S. pl.  
Mahanakar  
12/4/1

Shri Chandra Shekhar,  
Prime Minister,  
NEW DELHI.

S.O. Rel  
2/2/91  
P.U.

Previous papers are flagged at S.R.O. 1-3/M/Ex in the  
file behinck.  
Dinesh  
15/4/91

2/25/PS(S)K1  
Dix (AS)  
15/4

5326-P.M.L  
12/4  
2257(DIREC)/91  
12/3  
P.M.'S Personal Section  
DY NO ... 5316-6  
DATE ... 10-4-91

PRL SECY. TO P.M.  
By No. 2762-6/91  
Date 10/4/91



44

PROF. SAMAR GUHA  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)

Dear Shri Deenish Goswami,

I hope you will remember that Shri Morarji Desai, in a public statement in Lok Sabha on September, 1978, declined to accept the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission of Enquiry into 'disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose' since August 18, 1945 as 'conclusive'. Shri Morarji Desai as the then Prime Minister of India, thus, re-opened the issue of a fresh inquiry about Netaji mystery.

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After the National Front Government came into power I took up the matter with the President of India, Shri R. Venkataraman and the then Prime Minister, Shri V.P. Singh. On an advice from the President Shri R. Venkatraman, Shri V.P. Singh agreed to start a high level Investigative Inquiry into disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and informed me in a letter dt. 7.6.90:

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(See Annexure II)

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I would urge you, in the name of God and our Motherland to take up the matter with the Prime Minister - Shri Chandrasekhar requesting him to set up immediately an Expert Committee for High Level Investigation into the 'secret documents' on disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose believed to be available with the Governments of USSR, Japan, UK, USA and China.

I believe you will raise the matter on the floor of the Parliament as well to create a moral compulsion on the Government to fulfil our national duty to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

With regards,

26th February,  
8/2, Central Park,  
Calcutta - 700 032.

Yours sincerely,

Samar Guha  
(SAMAR GUHA)



PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi  
June 27, 1990

45

Sub: Letter dated 15th June, 1990 regarding investigation into the documents of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose

Dear Prof. Guha,

Your letter on the above subject has been received.

I shall have the matter looked into.

Regards,

- Yours sincerely,

Prof. Samar Guha  
8/2, Central Park  
Calcutta

  
[Vishwanath Pratap Singh]

ANNEXURE II



भारत के राष्ट्रपति का संयुक्त सचिव  
*Joint Secretary to the President of India*

No F 3/JS/91

राष्ट्रपति भवन  
नई दिल्ली

*Rashtrapati Bhavan  
New Delhi*

January 29, 1991.

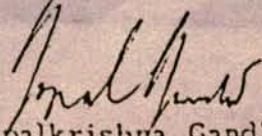
Dear Professor,

The President wishes me to convey his thanks to you for your letter of January 21, and to let you know that he had taken up the subject with the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister has informed the President that the issue will be looked into.

*With regards*

Yours sincerely,

Prof. Samar Guha,  
8/2, Central Park,  
Calcutta 700032.

  
Gopalkrishna Gandhi

Dear Shri Goswami,

SNo. 4/Netaji  
9, 12, 13/c

Please refer to your letter of 18th March, 1991 enclosing a letter from Prof. Samar Guha, former MP, requesting for a fresh enquiry into Netaji's disappearance.

As you know, the Govt. of India had appointed an Enquiry Committee in 1956 to go into the circumstances of Netaji's death. The Committee submitted its report, in which the majority opinion was that Netaji met his death in an air crash on 18.8.1945 in Taihoku and that his ashes were subsequently brought to the Renkoji temple in Tokyo. However, Netaji's brother, Shri S.C. Bose, who was also a member of the Committee, dissented from this view.

In 1970, another enquiry was conducted by Justice G.D. Khosla, which upheld the conclusions of the earlier enquiry that Netaji met his death in Taihoku in 1945. The Cabinet accepted the findings and the report of the Committee was laid on the Table of both Houses of Parliament on 3rd September, 1974.

The issue of conducting a fresh enquiry has been carefully considered by the Government. It is felt that this is unlikely to yield any fresh evidence or throw any new light on the circumstances of Netaji's disappearance.

Yours sincerely,

P.M.

Shri Dinesh Goswami, MP

Dear Shri Goswami,

SMS 4/1/Mar 4  
9/10/1991  
M.B.P.

I have received your letter of March 18, 1991 forwarding a letter from Prof. Samar Guha, regarding the disappearance of Netaji. This will be ~~looked into~~ examined,

Yours sincerely,

PM

Shri Dinesh Goswami, MP

11, Race Course Road,  
New Delhi - 110011.



48

## PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi  
April 18, 1991SPP/M/Note +  
9.11X.P-13/2

Dear Shri Goswami,

I have received your letter of March 18, 1991 forwarding a letter from Prof. Samar Guha, regarding the disappearance of Netaji. This will be examined.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

Chandrabhanu

[Chandra Shekhar]

Shri Dinesh Goswami, MP  
11, Race Course Road  
New Delhi

Copies could go  
to MCA

Hansraj,  
SSS

%

P. Deepy

Dir (HS) may kindly send copies of  
Shri Goswami's letter and PM's reply to  
OSD (EA). A copy of Prof. Guha's letter has  
also been received by Dy EAM, who has  
also replied suitably.

S7/3 & 21/2  
20/20

Dir (HS)

347/25(1) 91  
28/27

M. Phukan  
24/4/

Boman  
23/4

49  
SW. 4/Note +  
9-12/c

Please find enclosed a copy of the letter received by PM from Shri Dinesh Goswami, MP as well as a copy of the acknowledgement which PM has sent to him for your information and record. No further action is required by MEA in view of the recent CCPA decision that no useful purpose would be served by holding yet another inquiry or by bringing back Netaji's ashes to India, at present, as this might create unnecessary tensions.

*Meera Shankar*

(Meera Shankar)  
Director

OSD(EA), MEA

P.M.O. WO. NO. 820911/P/10/31-Pdt dt 24/4/91

ISSUED *Wes*  
DATE *24/4/91*  
SIGNATURE *Meera Shankar*

*Pl enc & attch expt  
before com  
3/4/91*

*8/4*

*9*  
*P II*